

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 117976

13

ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /011 R

66660

DRAFTED BY: S/ S- O: SWWORREL

APPROVED BY: S/ S- O: WVNEWLIN

----- 108302

R 160732 Z JUN 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USCINCEUR

S E C R E T STATE 117976

EXDIS

CINCEUR HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO CAIRO BEIRUT LONDON
JERUSALEM TELAVIV MOSCOW USUNNY JUNE 15, FROM AMMAN REPEATED
TO YOU QUOTE:

S E C R E T AMMAN 3177

EXDIS

DEPT PASS CINCEUR

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, JO, EG

SUBJECT: JORDAN' S FEARS ABOUT EGYPT

REF: AMMAN 3176

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER PM RIFAI SENT TO SADAT
AND CERTAIN OTHER ARAB LEADERS.

1. THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF
JORDAN GREETES HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 117976

2. WIT REGARD TO THE POSITION OF DR MUHAMMAD HASSAN AZ- ZAYYAT,
FOREIGN MINISTER OF T E EGYPTIAN ARAB REPUBLIC, AT THE SECURITY
COUNCIL NOA MEETING TO DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, (THE
FOREIGN MINISTER OF JORDAN) WISHES TO CLARIFY T E JORDANIAN
CIEWPOINT VIS- A- VIS DR ZAYYAT' S POSITION, SUBMIT THE BACKGROUND

OF THE CASE, AND EXPLAINS THE DANGERS RESULTING FROM THIS (DR ZAYYAT'S) POSITION. THE SECURITY COUNCIL ISSUED ON 22/11/1967, UNANIMOUSLY, RESOLUTION NUMBER 242 TO SERVE AS A BASIS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. THE COUNCIL HAD REQUESTED THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO SUBMIT A REPORT ABOUT THE RESULTS OF HIS ENDEAVOURS IN THIS RESPECT.

3. THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL REQUESTED DR GUNNAR JARRING, THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW, TO BE HIS ENVOY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. DR JARRING MADE SEVERAL ROUNDS WHICH LASTED UNTIL THE 8 TH OF FEBRUARY, 1971, WHEN HIS MISSION WAS FROZEN DUE TO ISRAEL'S REFUSAL TO REPLY TO THE MEMORANDUM HE HAD SUBMITTED TO IT AFTER HE RECEIVED A POSITIVE REPLY FROM EGYPT TO A SIMILAR MEMORANDUM.

4. WHILE DR JARRING WAS CARRYING OUT HIS MISSION, EGYPT ANNOUNCED THE WAR OF ATTRITION, IN FEBRUARY, 1969, A WAR WHICH ENDED WITH A CEASE- FIRE AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL ON 7 AUGUST 1970 THAT WAS TO LAST FOR A PERIOD OF 90 DAYS. THIS PERIOD WAS EXTENDED AND THE CEASE- FIRE HAS PREVAILED, FROM THAT TIME UNTIL NOW.

5. THE CEASE- FIRE AGREEMENT WAS BASED ON THE INITIATIVE OF MR WILLIAM ROGERS, THE US FOREIGN MINISTER. THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT, AT THAT TIME, FAILED TO INFORM ITS PARTNER THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT, OF ITS DECISION, IN SPITE OF THE COORDINATION THAT HAD EXISTED BETWEEN JORDAN AND EGYPT SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE JOINT DEFENSE AGREEMENT IN MAY, 1967 THROUGH AUGUST 1970.

6. FOLLOWING THE FREEZING OF THE INTERNATIONAL ENVOY'S MISSION, AND WITH THE FLUIDITY OF THE INITIATIVE OF MR ROGERS, A STATE OF NO- WAR, NO- PEACE EMERGED IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BROUGHT OUT BY THE EGYPTIAN INFORMATION APPARATUS WHICH DEALT WITH IT IN GREAT DETAILS ASCERTAINING THAT SUCH A SITUATION CANNOT BE TOLERATED AND CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO CONTINUE.

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 117976

7. DURING THE NO- WAR, NO- PEACE PERIOD, THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT, ANWAR AS- SADAT, CAME UP WITH HIS INITIATIVE IN FEBRUARY 1971 TO OPEN THE SUEZ CANAL TO INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING. EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI DISAGREEMENT FOLLOWED REGARDING THE DISTANCE TO WHICH THE ISRAELI FORCES SHOULD WITHDRAW IN SINAI AND THE SIZE OF THE EGYPTIAN FORCES WHICH WILL MOVE TO THE EAST OF THE CANAL. THIS CAUSED THE EGYPTIAN INITIATIVE TO FAIL AFTER, IT BECAME APPARENT TO EGYPT THAT ISRAEL INTENDED TO MAKE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT A PARTIAL AGREEMENT SEPARATE FROM THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.

8. ON 28 SEPTEMBER 1972, PRESIDENT SADAT DECLARED THAT THE TIME HAD COME FOR THE PALESTINIANS TO FORM AN ENTITY AND THAT EGYPT WOULD WELCOME AND RECOGNIZE THIS ENTITY WHEN THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND THE RESISTANCE TOOK THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO

CREATE " A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. THIS STATEMENT WAS MET BY ADVERSE REACTION FROM THE FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS AND

PRESIDENT SADAT WAS FORCED WITHDRAW HIS PROPOSALS AND LEAVE THE MATTER TO THE DECISION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS THEMSELVES.

9. ON JUNE 6, 1973, THE SECURITY COUNCIL HELD ITS FIRST MEETING TO DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS IN ALL ITS ASPECTS. ONE OF THE FIRST SPEAKERS WAS MUHAMMAD HASSAN AZ- ZAYYAT, EGYPT'S FOREIGN MINISTER, WHO MADE THE FOLLOWING CLEAR

REFERENCE WITH REGARD TO THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION AND HE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE:

10. A) " THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TODAY LIVE UNDER THE ISRAELI MILITARY OCCUPATION DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT OF SELF- DETERMINATION."

B) " THE COUNTRIES WHICH RECOGNIZE THE JEWISH STATE HAVE THE MORAL OBLIGATION TO ALSO RECOGNIZE THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WHO WERE SUPPOSED TO TAKE PART, WITH THE JEWISH STATE, IN THEIR SECTOR OF PALESTINE IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN RESOLUTION NO 181 DATED 29 NOVEMBER 1947."

C) " SIX YEARS AGO THE ISRAELI FORCES INVADDED AND OCCUPIED WHAT WAS LEFT OF PALESTINE, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, AS THEY ALSO
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 117976

OCCUPIED PARTS OF SYRIA AND EGYPT."

D) " THE ISRAELI BORDERS, WHICH THE COUNCIL WISHED TO DEFINE AND TO RECOGNIZE WERE NO MORE THAN THE GEOGRAPHIC BORDERS OF PALESTINE, AS IT WAS UNDER THE MANDATE, AND WHICH WERE THE SUBJECT OF THE PARTITION RESOLUTION IN 1947."

E) " THE BORDERS WHICH ISRAEL IS DEMANDING MAY NEVER GO BEYOND THE INTERNATIONAL BORDERS OF PALESTINE AND INTO EGYPTIAN TERRITORY."

11. THIS APPEAL BY DR ZAYYAT HAS REAISED AGAIN THE PROBLEM OF REPRESENTING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND MOVED IT INSIDE THE SCOPE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

12. IN CAIRO, AL- AHRAH REPORTED IN 10 JUNE 1973 THAT WORLD RECOGNITION OF THE STATE OF PALESTINE, AS PROPOSED BY DR ZAYYAT, IS A VITAL MATTER, TO LESSEN THE INCREASING DANGER OF PALESTINIAN TERRORISM, IN PARTICULAR THEIR THREAT TO THE FLOW OF OIL
AT A TIME OF INCREASED CONCERN REGARDING THE ENERGY CRISIS.

13. THE NEWSPAPER WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE PALESTINIANS LIVING

IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB LANDS (WEST BANK AND GAZA) MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE PROPOSED STATE BECAUSE THEIR ABILITY TO EXPRESS THEIR FREE WILL UNDER THE OCCUPATION IS IN DOUBT. THE NEWSPAPER ALSO SAID THAT THE FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS, HEADED BY FATAH AND THE PLO, AND WHICH ARE NOT RECOGNIZED BY ALL THE ARAB STATES AND THE ARAB LEAGUE AS REPRESENTING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WILL LEAD THIS ROLE.

14. WE BELIEVE THAT DR ZAYYAT'S POSITION AT THE SECURITY

COUNCIL, IF IT RECEIVED NECESSARY INTERNATIONAL APPROVAL, WILL REMOVE JORDAN FROM THE QUESTION AND THIS AFTER THE SECURITY COUNCIL RULED IN FAVOR OF ITS INDISPUTABLE RIGHT-- WITH SYRIA AND EGYPT-- TO RETRIEVE THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967 IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242. DR ZAYYAT'S SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 117976

POSITION WILL ALSO LEAD TO THE DIVISION AND FRAGMENTATION OF THE QUESTION SINCE THE BASIC PROBLEM IS THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FROM THE OCCUPIED ARAB LANDS, NOT THE RAISING OF A NEW QUESTION WHICH DOES NOT EXIST IN PLACE OF A CLEAR AND JUST CAUSE REGARDING WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS RULED IN OUR FAVOR.

15. THE ISRAELI DELEGATE CRITICIZED THE JORDANIAN DELEGATE BECAUSE THE LATTER SPOKE ON BEHALF OF THE PALESTINIANS, THUS EXPLOITING THE PROPOSAL SUBMITTED BY DR ZAYYAT IN ORDER TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN JORDAN AND EGYPT. THIS IS ONE OF THE DANGEROUS RESULTS OF THE POSITION OF DR ZAYYAT. ISRAEL WILL UNDOUBTEDLY DRAW PROFIT FROM THIS POSITION AND THROUGH IT WILL ATTEMPT TO RENEGE ON ITS COMMITMENT TO RES 242 OF THE UNSC. THIS IS WHAT ISRAEL HAS BEEN SEEKING IN THE PAST: A PROPER EXCUSE TO AVOID ITS OBLIGATIONS. THE RAISING OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION IN THIS NEW MANNER, MAY BE INTERPRETED AS ABANDONMENT BY EGYPT OF RES 242, A MATTER WHICH WILL CAUSE GREAT DAMAGE TO OUR POSITION AND WILL MAKE US LOSE A LEGAL AND A LEGITIMATE POSITION ON WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL RULED IN OUR FAVOR SIX YEARS AGO AND WHICH WILL GIVE ISRAEL THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISAVOW THE PROVISIONS OF THE SAID RESOLUTION AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO CREATE A FLUID SITUATION THAT WOULD PERMIT IT TO STRENGTHEN ITS OCCUPATION AND ESTABLISH ITS FIRM PRESENCE IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB LANDS

16. DR ZAYYAT REQUESTED A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON 28/5/73 AND THEN REQUESTED THAT IT BE POSTPONED TO 4/6/73, HE AGAIN ASKED FOR A POSTPONEMENT UNTIL 6/6/73 WHEN THE FIRST SESSION WAS HELD, WITHOUT ANY PRIOR COORDINATION BETWEEN JORDAN AND EGYPT, THE TWO COUNTRIES WHICH ACCEPTED RES 242 IMMEDIATELY AFTER IT WAS PASSED.

17. DR ZAYYAT' S DELIBERATE DECISION NOT TO COORDINATE WITH THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WHEN HE WAS CALLED UPON TO PARTICIPATE IN THE LAST GENERAL DEBATE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, INDICATES THAT HIS POLICIES ARE AIMED AT THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE QUESTION, IGNORING THE ENSUING DANGERS. HE IS DETERMINED TO ISOLATE THE EGYPTIAN-
SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 117976

ISRAELI PROBLEM FROM THE WHOLE QUESTION BY REMOVING JORDAN AND GIVING THE PALESTINIANS RESPONSIBILITY TO WORK FOR THEIR " CAUSE", AND EXPLOITS SYRIA' S POSITION WHICH SHOWS NO ADHERENCE TO OR CONCERN FOR THE SAID SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

18. IT APPEARS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN THAT DR ZAYYAT' S POSITION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL REPRESENTS A NEW TREND AIMED AT THE SETTLEMENT OF THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM AND THE RENEGING ON THEIR COMMITMENTS TO THE PREVIOUS EGYPTIAN POSITION UNDER WHICH EGYPT HAD PLEDGED NOT TO ACCEPT ANY PARTIAL SETTLEMENT AND HAD COMMITTED ITSELF TO A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT FOLLOWING TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED ARAB LANDS IN EGYPT, SYRIA, AND JORDAN. THIS POSITION BY DR ZAYYAT COINCIDES WITH THE ISRAELI POSITION WHICH AIM AT DIVIDING THE QUESTION, NEUTRALIZING THE EGYPTIAN FRONT AND REMOVING A BASIC FACTOR FROM THE ARENA OF THE ARAB POLITICAL AND MILITARY STRUGGLE.

19. THIS POSITION WILL NATURALLY LEAD TO THE DISENGAGEMENT OF EGYPT FROM THE ISRAELI- ARAB STRUGGLE AND FROM THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION AND ALSO WILL LEAD TO THE ISOLATION OF EGYPT FROM THE COUNTRIES OF THE ARAB EAST, IT WILL DRIVE THE ARAB PEOPLE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA TO THE ABYSS OF DESPERATION AND HOPELESSNESS, AND DRAW THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP INTO A VICIOUS CIRCLE OF STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

20. THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN, HAVING EXPRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF

(COUNTRY) HIS VIEWPOINT WITH REGARD TO DR ZAYYAT' S POSITION AND THE ENSUING SERIOUS RESULTS TAKES THIS OPPORTUNITY (COMPLIMENTARY CLOSE). BROWN UNQUOTE ROGERS

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 JUN 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: collinp0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE117976
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/ S- O: SWWORREL
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730635/abqcemqa.tel
Line Count: 264
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: AMMAN 3176
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: collinp0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26-Sep-2001 by martinml>; APPROVED <25 FEB 2002 by collinp0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> srp 980210
Subject: JORDAN' S FEARS ABOUT EGYPT
TAGS: PFOR, EG, JO
To: USCINCEUR
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005